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CHAPTER III

THE IDEOLOGY OF INTERTRIBAL EXCHANGE

1. *Experiences with the Exchange System*

Many authors have been fascinated by Melanesian ideas of reciprocity and exchange. Malinowski was the first to show in detail that these ideas are a central theme in Melanesian cultures; his lead was followed by Bateson, Belshaw, Burridge, van der Leeden, Pouwer, Reay, Sahlins, Salisbury, Strathern, Wagner, Young and many others. The literature on Orokaiva exchange, however, is less comprehensive than for some other parts of Melanesia. Williams, the principal ethnographer, has written a great deal on reciprocity and marriage exchange among Papuan groups, but this was mostly in his later works (1934, 1936, etc.), which do not deal with the Orokaiva. Some phenomena, as he records in his later ethnographies, might in some instances just as well have been found among the Orokaiva, and here it will be my role to fill in the record. Very recently, Waddell and Krinks (1968) have collected detailed statistical data on Orokaiva exchange. Valuable as this material is, it is concerned with economic geography rather than social organisation and ideology.

All ethnographers who have worked among the Orokaiva seem to be well aware of the importance of the exchange system. Whenever I met one he soon came up with the key question: 'How did you get on with *hoija*?', *hoija* being an Orokaiva word meaning 'exchange between non-kin'. Fieldwork in any area probably has its tensions; among the Orokaiva the initial distrust of, perhaps the hostility towards, the fieldworker finds its expression in the rather aggressive offering of (sometimes unwanted) gifts and services, followed immediately by peremptory demands or ceaseless wheedling for return prestations. Every fieldworker thinks of some 'solution' to this problem: accepting everything (because according to Mauss the acceptance of gifts is obligatory), accepting just a little from everyone, accepting prestations from only a carefully defined and limited group, or maybe accepting nothing, though I cannot imagine this. What all these anthropologists are talking about, though from a purely practical rather than a theoretical viewpoint, is how they should behave as exchange partners, given their own peculiar status. It should be a comfort to them that Firth has recently (1967) challenged Mauss' proposition that the acceptance of gifts among primitives is obligatory. They will now probably have fewer uneaten potatoes and German taro lying on their verandahs!

In all the villages I visited events followed the same kind of sequence. I always received an effusive welcome and many gifts for which no return was asked. This

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431 phase would last about two days. Villages where I made very brief visits never
123 passed beyond that stage, thus remaining in my memory as exceptionally endearing in their generosity. Before I understood the system, I harboured romantic notions of going to live in these villages. In the second phase there would be frantic *hoija*. Everyone brought gifts, asked for tobacco, salt, kerosene, and rides in the car. People appeared to be most hurt when I would not drive into Popondetta every day, and take the whole village with me. Whenever I was offered any gifts or service during this period there would be an immediate demand for some desired benefit.

436 After some weeks, this rather aggressive barrage diminished. I found myself
123 with a number of regular exchange partners who brought me what it was presumed I needed and who asked me for more or less standard return benefits.
431 Two sorts of partnership developed: one type of partner expected a return gift immediately upon bringing me his own; the second type made gifts for which he asked nothing – they were represented as gestures of pure affection. Yet in the future an occasion would arise when I would be asked for, or would spontaneously offer, something in return. But this second type of partnership was far more similar to the kind of gift exchange the village people had among their fellow villagers or close associates. As more and more people shifted from the first to the second type of partnership, I could see something like a genuine exchange network building up. People trusted me enough to allow me to be in their debt for a while. I was thus approaching the stage when I would be regarded as a desirable exhange partner, or, to put it in Orokaiva terms, as a man of some moral virtue. It seemed to me that it was on my behaviour as an exchange partner that my status would ultimately depend.

431 Most of the significant events in which the village was involved were also concerned with exchange. While marriages, deaths, feasts and initiations were all occasions for ritual and magic, the gifts always loomed largest in everyone's interests. It would usually take at least a year, but often far longer, to accumulate the gifts needed for such occasions. During this period members of the family, local clan branch or village (whichever was the donating group) would be constantly on the lookout for money or gift objects that could be stored up. People would go looking for jobs. They would keep unused some
[628] clothing they had been given by a relative. Whenever a visit outside the village
[574] was contemplated, an essential part of the preparations was the getting together of the gifts that would have to be taken. Or when a visitor arrived, there was stealthy activity in the background to prepare the gifts without which he would not be allowed to leave. The size of the gifts would always be carefully planned, in accordance with the importance of the visit, the extent to which it was thought politic to do homage, and the availability of supplies. But the making of the gift would always be done in so casual a manner that one might easily believe it was totally spontaneous.

This manner must be affectionate and humble. But the wise man, in making a gift, puts his partner in his debt as much as possible without suffering undue expense, while at the same time enhancing his own status. At a later time, he will use his status as creditor to the best advantage. His concern is to foster a social relationship while at the same time seeking the acquisition of some scarce resource. Social and economic ends are pursued simultaneously. Thus Melanesian

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the ill feeling that has built up; usually any attempt to assign guilt would lead only to further conflict, as the record is too tangled to be satisfactorily sorted out. The party which decides to hold the feast and to invite the other side may or may not admit that it regards itself as guilty, and that it owes the other side a debt. The past is simply set aside and the host acts as though the feast is a free gift, an expression of disinterested love and generosity. The guest at the feast accepts the same fiction.

Accordingly, if we regard a feast as an occasion for social exchange, as the Orokaiva undoubtedly do, the basic objects of exchange are repentance and forgiveness. Sometimes a few words are exchanged between host and guest to express this notion of forgiving and forgetting, though I do not suppose this is invariably the case. On one occasion I invited a man to have a feast with me, after some months during which he had been acting unpleasantly towards me for reasons I did not quite understand. I must have unwittingly offended him. After the meal he said: 'I did not really know you before now.' This implied that he was willing to forgive and forget whatever had previously annoyed him. At the same time, the fact of my inviting him indicated that I was sorry for whatever I had done wrong. What we were really exchanging was a willingness to change our attitudes to each other, which involved some effort for both of us. Whether this is, in practice, done genuinely or only ritually does not concern me here as I am discussing feasts from the viewpoint of Orokaiva collective representations. When two groups feast together, each has the obligation to feel sorry for any offence he has caused and to forgive any offence caused by the other side. It is only thus that the feast can interrupt the inherent enmity between man and man. Through the sharing of meat the two sides re-enact the communion existing in primordial times when men, as brothers, shared the body of Totoima.

An essential part of any feast is that the host should offer meat to his guest. But it is a total misapprehension of Orokaiva social philosophy to believe that it is the meat that is being exchanged for forgiveness. If that were so, it would not be essential for the two parties to consume it together. Certainly, if I have offended another person, I may make him a gift of meat in reparation. This is often done. But the reconciliation between the parties is not effected by such a gift alone. There must in addition be commensality (the common eating of taro) and communion (the common eating of meat). The meat used in such a communion is not an object of exchange. It is better described as a mediating element which makes possible the actual transaction (i.e. the exchange of repentance and forgiveness). Orokaiva are quite definite that there can be no true repentance and forgiveness between men unless meat is consumed between them. One may therefore regard meat as a *necessary* mediating element in this transaction.

Perhaps the most useful insight to be derived from Orokaiva social philosophy is that the natural form of a social relationship is cyclical and moves regularly from hostility to reconciliation and back to hostility. In other words, the Orokaiva do not see the model of a friendship, as do Westerners, in the form of a perpetual harmony, so that every conflict that arises is regarded as a deviation from the model. On the contrary, Orokaiva consider conflict as intrinsic to the model. This is true also in the discussion of quite intimate relationships: father and son, husband and wife, and so on. The perfect relationship is not one where

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623 working out a development policy, but rather of obeying a sacred formula that
657 came to the Australian authorities from a *dema*-like source and was then passed
177 on as a gift to the Orokaiva.

Are all these gifts derived ultimately, in Orokaiva estimation, from Jesus
829 Christ, or are there other *dema* figures as well to whom these gifts are ascribed?
● [123] Who would they be? This is a hard subject for a white anthropologist to inquire into. Informants answer: 'We do not know. Nobody has told us.' The anthropologist feels uneasily that if anyone knows the source of Western wealth and power, it ought to be himself rather than his informants.

3. *New Exchange Cycles*

121 The image of post-contact history reconstructed here from statements by Orokaiva informants seems unduly dreamlike and idealised. This is because they are statements about the metaphysical starting mechanisms making social relations possible. Turning to the relationships themselves, I find that they are often marred by a severe conflict of interests and values. For the purpose of a brief overview, we shall consider relationships with representatives of three types of European-introduced institutions: church, commerce, and government. Following our theoretical scheme, we shall be especially interested in the objects that are exchanged in these relationships and in the mediating elements that make possible social exchange.

461 An employer of Papuan labour is interested chiefly in obtaining the
466 compliance of his workers by the payment of money. Usually he is not at all
829 interested in social exchange, but in a contract whereby he acquires the total
437 work output of the worker for the period he is on the job. The Orokaiva,
177 however, regards all the work he does as part of a social relationship with the person for whom he works. First of all, he expects that person to feed him while he is working. This is because he has been prevented by the person he is helping from going to his own garden. The employer in New Guinea usually does feed his workers, subtracting the cost of the food from the wages he pays. But secondly, the Orokaiva, lacking a long tradition of wage labour, regards his work as a long series of gifts to his employer enabling him to claim return gifts. He does not think of his wages as being a total discharge of his employer's obligations. They were promised at the beginning, but since then many unpredictable things have happened: he has loyally looked after his employer's interests in a series of small crises; he finds he has additional urgent needs he did not envisage when he agreed to come to the job; he believes his labour has yielded his employer vast profits. As the Orokaiva understand a social partnership, events of this kind all create a claim upon the person who has received help. Thus, the worker keeps on pressing his employer most persuasively for extra gifts of various sorts, in addition to his wages. This pattern is found throughout New Guinea and is known as the *baksheesh* system. Employers often give in to the demands, hand out various extras, and allow for these costs in plantation budgets.[3]

466 The basic significance of the *baksheesh* has already been pointed out by
437 Mauss (1966: 250–5, 229–32); '*La chose ainsi transmise est, en effet, chargée de*
177 *l'individualité du donateur.*' It rests on a notion that both worker and

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would in effect be wasted, since at some point there is no alternative but to wait for crops and animals to mature. Similarly, in these three processes, failure of one member of the production organization to perform his role correctly would not ordinarily result in failure of the entire process. What is not done today can be done tomorrow, and what one person fails to do another can do at another time.

In fact it will be demonstrated that it may well be the particular nature of work in these societies which inhibits the extension of cash cropping and the fuller utilisation of available labour time. It is with these considerations in mind that the data relating to the activity patterns of the adult residents of the two villages are presented and analysed.

Method adopted

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The characteristics of the sample communities have been described in Chapter 4. The survey of activity patterns was confined to the adult members of these communities (i.e. those over the age of about fifteen years) in view of the very restricted amount of work observed to be done by younger people. By so doing a larger number of households could be included in the survey than would otherwise have been possible. The actual size of the samples was restricted, in the case of Inonda, by the population of the village itself while, at Sivepe, logistical considerations prevented more than 30 to 35 adults being surveyed at one time. The technique used was one of daily interviews associated with observations of all individual movements in and out of the village.

[124]
[123]

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Data were collected over three distinct periods amounting to a total of twenty-seven weeks,[1] the periods being selected in such a way as to cover expected seasonal variations in activity patterns (see Fig.5:1). Treating each community separately the form of presentation is such as, firstly, to describe its basic behavioural characteristics for the duration of the survey and for the individual periods, and secondly, to isolate internal variations, most particularly between cash and non-cash croppers but also according to such criteria as age and sex. All activities are covered, with the exception of eating, resting and sleeping; an activity being defined as covering all time spent between departing and returning to the village (or, in the case of intra-village activities, the start and finish of the task) and so including such related events as time spent travelling and resting. Some activities have, however, been broken down for further analysis on a detailed time and motion basis.

[1] Twenty-six in the case of Inonda.

438 proportion formed by pitpit is due to the fact that it was only in season during the first twelve weeks of the survey (see Table 11:4). Yams, Xanthosoma and sago are similarly seasonal and in certain weeks are more prominent than shown here. Of the other cultivated products, areca nuts are important although they amount to only 93 lbs acquired and 39 lbs disposed over the survey. One lb consists of approximately 24 areca nuts, so that about 86 nuts were acquired and 36 nuts disposed of by the village as a whole each week. In other words, there is a regular traffic in areca. Inonda people are dependent on outsiders for the nut because the palm does not grow well on their land.

It is noteworthy that the total acquisitions and disposals of subsistence items are very close to balancing - the excess of the former amounts to only 76 lbs out of a total of 14,000 lbs. However, the reservation should be made that the balance is achieved by equating all items on the basis of weight, and this does not exactly reflect Orokaiva methods of calculation. It is, nevertheless, probable that the outflow of the most favoured foods - taro (800 lbs) and pigmeat (375 lbs) - helps to balance the inflow of services and storebought goods and that this is an expression of the Orokaiva ideal of reciprocity in relationships.

437 [431] (ii) Labour services. The exchange of labour services is to some extent a matter of individual inclination. Where an obligation exists, it has not necessarily been incurred through an equivalent service, nor is reciprocation in this way essential - it may, instead, be through a gift of garden produce and obligations and reciprocations may be separated by a time-lag of a year. For this reason and others discussed below, the pattern of services over a period varies from individual to individual and acquisitions and disposals are not often in balance. In Table 11:1 the excess of acquisitions over disposals of labour services in the subsistence sector reflects large amounts of labour given by people from other villages, mostly young men staying for a few days or weeks with kin in Inonda. They contributed 42 per cent of subsistence services, in such tasks as house-building, sago-making and gardening. If it is assumed that people who are temporarily absent from Inonda follow the same work patterns as people temporarily resident, this apparent excess would be considerably reduced.

439 431 [123] (iii) Storebought goods. Table 11:1 also shows the values of goods derived from trade stores that are circulated through the gift exchange system. Thirty-seven per cent of the total value of acquisitions shown was in gifts from research workers. One-third of this was in the form of a parcel of clothing from a research worker in Australia and the rest was contributed during the survey. The most significant contributions were of trade tobacco, mosquito nets (shown as 'personal goods'), clothing and a suitcase given to the leading man for his journey to Port Moresby.

125 (iii) Test administration

Testing was done individually during daylight hours at the testees' home villages. The time spent in testing varied considerably depending upon the quality of the response.

123 Establishment of adequate rapport is important in all psychological testing. A number of factors contributed to its establishment in the present case. The field staff and the New Guinea Research Unit were well known to the testees, personally in the majority of cases, and at least by reputation in the remainder. This led to a readiness to co-operate in the research programme. The physical material of the test is itself attractive and appealing. Testees do not become bored or stressed during testing as the item type changes fairly rapidly.

125 A card table approximately 3 feet square was used to provide a flat surface on which testing took place.

(iv) Scoring systems

There are currently a number of scoring systems available for use with this battery. The first of these was devised by Ord (1959). This utilized time bonuses and credit for partially correct responses. Other systems were developed by Kearney (1962). Test scores derived from the different scoring systems were correlated by the product-moment method in a 27 x 27 matrix. When one marking system is correlated with any other marking system for the same test, the correlation did not fall below r = 0.9 except in one case where r = 0.85.

One system of analysis used simple binaries (i.e., 1 mark if totally correct, 0 marks if incorrect) to avoid any contamination of the results by a marking effect. It might have been thought that delection of time bonuses and part marks would render results less sensitive to small changes in performance, but the above results have not borne this out. There were time limits but these did not make the task rely on speed but were imposed so as to have a standard discontinuation time when the testee was unable to complete the item.

The simple binary system makes no assumption about the relative weightings of various items or ideal time bonuses. In this analysis this system has been used.

Results

153 The means and standard deviations of the test score are presented in Table 3.

notably generous with gifts. It might otherwise be expected that he would have avoided the ceremonies or aligned himself with the bride's group, especially as the husbands of his daughters received shares of the bride-wealth. However, he contributed goods worth $2.55. 583

Of the five households in Inonda which did not contribute, the heads of two were brothers from the Jego'undi clan (not the Jegotumo lineage). Their mother was of the Joremba'embo lineage of the Andiriha and they therefore received a small share of the bride-wealth. The head of another of the five households was the bride's brother. The heads of the other two households were brothers and were considered by the villagers to be members of the organizer's lineage (Darafa'embo) because their father had been adopted into the Darafa'embo after being captured from a Managalasi tribe. In contrast with the organiser who had a dominant role in the contributing group, they received small shares of the bride-wealth at least partly because their mother was of the bride's lineage, and possibly because one of the brothers married the sister of the bride's brother's wife.

7. Households of the groom's matrikin. These were the households of the groom's mother's brother and his stepmother's brother, both from Urio village about seven miles from Inonda. No others of the groom's matrikin contributed.

Of the heads of the 20 households which contributed, only six were from the Andiriha clan and four of the six were of the Jegotumo lineage. If the bride had been a member of another clan, other Andiriha households probably would have contributed. Most of the 12 householders from Hohota II who contributed had no close genealogical relationship with the groom. They may have contributed because his father had lived there for many years before shifting to Inonda. However, the obligations could have been primarily to the organizer, a Hohota man.

V

The analysis of the distribution of the bride-wealth is not entirely satisfactory for two reasons. First, there were difficulties in observation. For example, some of the pork and other food was cooked and eaten while the distribution was taking place; some was handed to people to be given to others; and valuation of the pork cuts was impossible. All households which shared in other components of the bride-wealth were given pork, the choicest portions going to those which received the largest shares of other items. Some household utensils given in the bride-wealth were used 583 123

583 to cook and serve the food. The ultimate recipients of these were
123 not ascertained. Secondly, most recipients were from Mosou and Ajoro, villages in which there were many clans. Complete analysis was not possible because detailed genealogies were not collected and because both the father and mother of the bride had genealogical links with Mosou village. Nevertheless, sufficient information was collected to indicate some of the principles underlying the distribution.

583 Households which shared in the bride-wealth have been catego-
[123] rized according to the head's approximate relationship to the bride (see Table 4).[1]

Category 1 included the households of the bride's father and brother. These men controlled the distribution of the cash and retained just under 90 per cent, each taking $35. Although the father directly controlled the distribution of the more valuable traditional ornaments almost all the non-monetary components went to other households.

Two other local households of the Andiriha received shares of the bride-wealth (category 2). Their shares were small, possibly because they were of neither the bride's nor the groom's lineages and were therefore to some extent in a neutral position regarding the marriage (see also page 96).

Only one household of the Andiriha clan from a distant village (category 3) shared in the bride-wealth and the share was very small. This parallels the small contributions of the two distant households of the groom's lineage. The only Andiriha households known by the Inonda people to have taken no part in the marriage were from Hanakiro, a village about 20 miles away.

A large number of households with heads affinally and matrilineally related to the bride's father (category 4) received modest shares of the bride-wealth. The genealogical ties of three of these households were reinforced by assistance which the heads had given with the ceremonies performed when the bride attained puberty, at which time her father was absent from Inonda. Some households in the category had genealogical ties to the bride's mother as well.

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[1] It is possible that I was not aware of some cases where two or more recipients lived in the same household and if so, they have been listed in Table 4 as separate households. For example, an aged woman and her son may have received separate shares. Their relationships to the bride, as described to me, would not indicate whether they were in the same household and they would be recorded as separate households.

A

broader view of the social consequences of the eruption, and therefore included a third village, Hohorita, which lies at the centre of the area most deeply affected by the calamity. Sivepa, lying West of the volcano, escaped the full blast of the explosion; Inonda, to the East, was not directly affected at all, but Hohorita is a village made up of the survivors from Sangara villages situated in the blast area. Hohorita, as well as Kiorota which I visited briefly, has a far larger population than Orokaiva villages normally contain; these people were brought together, as a result of government organisation immediately after the eruption, from more than a dozen of the destroyed villages, comprise more than a dozen clans and constitute a new type of residential unit the origin of which may be directly traced to the eruption. Both Hohorita and Kiorota are situated on land owned by one of the constituent clans. With over 400 inhabitants, they face serious problems of factionalism. The government, which had an active hand in fostering them, had hoped they would solve basic problems of Orokaiva social fragmentation. In fact, one may almost say that the large consolidated village was a principal aim of government planning for the persons displaced by the eruption. Hence, it seems necessary to include consideration of this residential form in the present study.

Of the 12 months spent in the Territory of Papua, my wife and I lived in Orokaiva villages for more than 10 months, dividing the rest of the time between Port Moresby and the administrative centre of Popondetta. Most of the field period was spent in Sivepa, with three weeks in Inonda and five weeks in Hohorita. In Inonda we made use of a house previously used by the New Guinea Research Unit; in Sivepa a village house was built for us while at Hohorita we were squatting in an uncompleted village house--an unsatisfactory arrangement which accounts, in part, for the brevity of our stay. Fortunately, we had extremely competent research assistance at Hohorita, after we stopped residing there. The head teacher, Mr. Harold Heru, prepared extremely good genealogical records, showing residence of matrilateral and affinal kin as well as clan structure and residence.

The basic source of the material that follows are my own field notes. These are supplemented by government records, the publications on the Orokaiva and the eruption published by F. E. Williams, Reay, Belshaw, Keesing, Crocombe, Hogbin, Rimbidi, Waddell. I also collected tape recordings containing 50 basic documents in the Orokaiva language; transcriptions in Orokaiva and translations into English are available. A number of Europeans who were concerned with the administration of the temporary refugee camps were interviewed, including Dr. Gunther, Mr. F. Kaad, Mr. C. Searle, Mr. R. Hart and others too numerous to mention. Miss Nancy White, a mission teacher at Hohorita, apart from giving other help, put at my disposal a valuable collection of her diary notes, important letters written to her and Orokaiva texts collected at the Sasembata mission school in the years 1952 - 1953.

829 returned ancestor, but have principles for distinguishing between
769 those who are and those who are not ancestors. A territorial distinction that was suggested to me was that the Northern Hemisphere is generally regarded as inhabited by spirits and ancestors. (It was an educated informant who suggested this.) Some Papuans who went to England for the Queen's coronation could not believe that the buildings, the elevators, etc., had been built by ordinary men. A parcel of clothing, taken from England by a visitor was thought of as a gift from the ancestors.

Israel, Egypt, the Red Sea and other places mentioned in the Bible are especially so regarded. One example of the sacredness ascribed to these places was evident in the reception given to a popular missionary in the Kokoda district who returned to his parish after a visit to the Holy Land. The festivities with which he was received were very much out of the ordinary, and I was told this was because the ancestors had gone to these places.

In accordance with the usual Melanesian pattern, Australia, being the country exercising political and commercial control, was excluded from the vague area to which the ancestors had supposedly gone. On the other hand, New Zealand was not necessarily regarded in the same way as Australia. A young New Zealand geographer who paid a brief visit to Mamuni (in the Sasembata district) and to myself at Sivepa had been showered with gifts and one man had pressed money upon him which he was asked to invest in New Zealand, in which case it was expected to multiply a thousandfold. The young man was prudent enough
123 to decline the offer. I do not quite know how my wife and I were
829 regarded in Sivepa, but there was evidence that the surrounding villages
769 likewise regarded us as returned ancestors; I was once drawn into a discussion with a branch of the Jegase clan group at Kiorota, four hours' walking from Sivepa, where it was known that we were living closely with the Jegase clan group. I was asked point-blank whether I belonged to the Jegase clan; later, the Sivepe people told me what the meaning of this question had been. It would seem that this identification with returned ancestors was due less to our geographical provenance than to the type of relationships we had developed with Orokaiva people; both the geographer and we were living in villages, eating with the people and sharing with them; my wife was gardening; our behaviour was not that of the taupa. To this point I shall return.

177 It must be due to reasoning of this sort that Americans were
829 placed definitely in the category of returned ancestors. I was told
769 they were very different from other taupa (or rather, they were not really taupa at all). The American forces, it will be remembered, fought the Japanese at the Kokoda Trail and drove them out of the Northern District in 1942-1943. Both they, and the Australian troops accompanying them, maintained friendly relations with the Orokaiva who helped them in various ways, supplied them with whatever food they had in return, received very generous gifts. The American soldiers ate with the Orokaiva, which Australian officials hardly ever do, and

yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The same men devoted most of the following two months on building the mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more subtle.

About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested, would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during lent but on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence. I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises" (as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher; later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

its efforts upon what were then the Jegase and Timuma clans, to the exclusion of Seho. When my wife and I came to Sivepe, Jegase at once claimed us, built our house for us and was ready to perpetuate the familiar "special relationship" before I had a chance to assess the situation.

In terms of economic development, this extra experience of Jegase did not actually make much difference. Seho grew just as much coffee; the Seho clan leader was always in the vanguard for innovations such as the Malayan rubber trees; Seho had about as much money income as Jegase, except that Jegase received more cheques from town workers married to locally resident women. It must be remembered that the educational background of the Jegase men was still rather limited and insufficient to open up the more remunerative avenues of employment. The younger generation of Seho was just as well educated as the younger generation of Jegase; in fact, the only person to have reached Form II was a Seho boy whose father had no schooling but a few years' work experience before marriage.

Finally, the leader of the Seho clan (without schooling, but with brief experience in the A.P.C. before the eruption) made up in shrewdness what he lacked in facility. Europeans who had dealings with Sivepe over land and other issues found him a tough and calculating negotiator who knew as well as anyone how to safeguard the interests of his village and press for whatever blessings of the modern age might become available. As "committee" for Sivepe, he was a stern champion of village decorum. I have seen several other villages which vowed to eliminate pigs, but in these villages one could usually still find a very tiny piglet, so small you could hardly see it, which signified the hardiness of the old dispensation; in Sivepe, one only saw dead pigs. He would have no weeds, no houses out of alignment, no late noise; whatever the Australians chose to define as the spirit of progress, was strictly enforced by this leader.

The younger people are mostly going as far as they can (up to Standard 6) at Sasembata School; so far only one has gone further. One young man, who had finished Standard 6 and a young woman who had done Standard 4, but was intellectually brilliant were regarded in the village as the educated élite; both were just above 20 years of age. They were both from Jegase households; they both helped us considerably as interpreters. It is likely that the Sasembata school produced others as competent, but they would have left for jobs elsewhere.

I have already pointed out that in Inonda there was less homogeneity. One man was markedly more educated than anyone in Sivepe; nearly all had been away on paid employment for long periods (longer than at Sivepe). The educated leader, attracting to himself other men with some education, was able to act as a kind of entrepreneur and thus two different patterns of life became established, emphasised by the persisting neglect of cash-cropping by one section. Two young and vigorous men who might well have grown coffee prefer to depend for cash on temporary plantation jobs.

individual names to become part of village history. The anthropologists who had been in the two villages, under the auspices of A.N.U., were all very well remembered by name. When we included in a questionnaire a request for the names of Europeans our informants knew well, we were given a list including all the anthropologists, by their first names, and nobody else. This was almost a standard reaction. I am not at all sure that this close acquaintance made the anthropologists into key figures in development or that they were more influential in socio-economic development than the mission and government servants who, though anonymous, may have achieved more in this direction. A.N.U. personnel have made presents of coffee hullers, both in Sivepa and Inonda; one anthropologist taught his key informant in Inonda to drive a car, as a result of which this man found a permanent job with the administration. These certainly were tangible moves in the direction of economic progress.

I found that among the Orokaiva, unlike the New Zealand Maori, I was never asked my opinion when some community decision was to be made nor was any greater interest displayed in the views of my predecessors. I was usually told when something had been decided (and decisions almost always seemed to be reached in my absence) and naturally I always expressed pleasure at receiving the information. The pattern was different only when I myself was directly involved. On the other hand my participation in community activities was sought and much appreciated. Our behaviour was closely observed and some minor innovations in housekeeping (the making of washing lines, airing of blankets, etc.) may be due to my wife. Everybody seemed concerned that our presence should not disturb the precarious balance of power--and that we should be given no power. This suited my own purpose.

If the anthropologists may nonetheless perhaps be classed as key personalities, it is because Orokaiva attach special importance on the kind of relationships that are thus established with whites. I have already mentioned some hints we received that we might be returned ancestors; even if imagination does not go so far, the daily relationship established with the anthropologists comes close to what Orokaiva would regard as tolerable and human. It is in the texture of life that grows up between the population and the anthropologist rather than specific innovations that the importance of his visit lies; perhaps without realising it, he nurtures an ideology.

One of the significant mediators during my time in Sivepa was the head teacher of Ssembata school. His case will provide an example of the dangers of generalising about expatriates who are in fact an extremely complex group very imperfectly known. This man, aged about 28, had led a somewhat bohemian life in Australia, as a photographer, broadcaster and advertising agent. His decision to join the New Guinea mission was in part a conversion, in part a search for identity, in part a search for an assured place in the world. He married a mission teacher met in New Guinea. He found, in fact, that none of the fixed expatriate categories quite fitted him: he had absorbed, while in

Australia, enough of contemporary thought in literature, art and allied subjects and enough general sophistication to fit only with difficulty in the society of missionaries, planters and officials. At the same time he was drawn to these groups because of his feeling that by coming to New Guinea he had joined the "have's" and left the "have-nots" behind. Though his bohemian background made him critical towards the colonial attitude to Papuans, he faced a difficult problem in working out his own. Both his own ambition and his wife's background (closer to the mission norm) predisposed him to avoid identification with the Papuans. On the other hand, when I met him, he still felt a little uneasy at playing the pukka sahib role which was certainly a betrayal of earlier principles. He was beginning to run into some difficulties with Papuans on the mission station and in the villages. During the year of our presence in Sivepe, he found what seemed an excellent solution by being elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council.

Though membership is open to persons of any ethnic group, it seemed at first as though Orokaiva would not vote for an Australian candidate. After all, they are well aware of the dangers of having their local affairs controlled by foreigners. But as the election approached, attitudes changed. Quite early, they had asked me to stand, but I excused myself as I would not be staying long enough. A little later, the mission teacher heard that if he offered himself, he would get some support. He went to the villages of his ward on an electioneering tour and defeated the sitting member with a comfortable majority. The motive of the electors, as I was told, was that this energetic young white man would be a good champion for Sasombata causes in a council which, in pragmatic terms, was still largely dominated by an Australian advisor. Furthermore, Orokaiva were well aware that their own power over the mission teacher had increased considerably since he depended on them for elective office. He and his wife could no longer treat any callers in an offhand fashion, for were they not also voters?

Section 2: Papuans from Other Districts

In our discussion of expatriates, we have shown that some kind of identification with Papuan values occurred in many of the most influential; this identification could either be positive, when the expatriate identified himself with the interests of the Orokaiva, or negative, when the expatriate used procedures not acceptable in his country of origin but effective in furthering his own interests in opposition to Orokaiva. For the Papuans, employed as pastors or in similar roles, and therefore resident among a strange tribe, the position was more complicated. Such a Papuan was not principally a mediator between his own indigenous culture and that of his new

177 husbands of his sisters' daughters, as is customary. Most of all, he
623 was a careful man who put whatever he accumulated to the most prudent
471 use. In his capacity of clan leader and village leader, he controlled two corporate savings accounts, one of $158, the other smaller and secret; people had full confidence that deposits were entirely safe in his care. Though he would never express himself in such terms, he was actually leading his people into a state of solid and (hopefully) economically viable peasantry.

I asked him what he thought were the qualifications of a leader.
177 A leader, he said, must be very smart and understanding, have a lot
623 of garden and make a feast; then the people will join him. They don't appoint him but he stands out by his farming, gardening, feasts. He
[157] is usually an elderly man.

Not only Lawrence, but also all other informants insisted that leadership was not hereditary, even though a leader may desire a certain son to succeed him. After the old leader is dead, the living are free to make their own decision. Lawrence rejected the idea that the councillors are the present leaders of the community. The ancestors, he said, decided what people ought to do. They had talked all this over. Then the "two-bob councillors" came; all they care about is to carry out the government's orders. They don't really direct the people. All the same, Lawrence was well aware of the influence of the councillors. It was when they were established, he said, that the old way of thinking was upset. The village constable did not make important changes, though sometimes people went to jail for some trouble. In spite of these views, Lawrence went to no particular trouble to keep old customs alive; when he entertained Togahou village, there were far fewer ceremonial features than I saw at a feast at Inonda.

As an informant I found him entertaining but of limited useful-
115 ness. He was at first very reluctant, and later allowed himself to be interviewed, using the occasion as a battle of wits. Never once did he tell a direct lie, but his answers were cunningly planned with the intent to mislead. My part of the game was to get at the truth and in this game he was a most ingenious opponent. Sometimes he tried to conceal what seemed to me a most innocuous piece of information; thus, he alerted me to institutions I might otherwise have overlooked. No statement he made could be accepted on its face value. In this he differed from other informants less in intent than in ingenuity.

The other key personalities at the time of my visit were all
123 Jegasa. As I had been apportioned to my clan, they were much more
159 helpful with information. They adopted me as a sort of fictional clansman whereas to Lawrence I must have been a fictional affine. My closest associate in the village was actually the son-in-law Lawrence disliked, Robert, my neighbour. He was a man of about 32 who had most
[559] of the qualities admired by the Orokaiva: a fine dancer, with charm, modest bearing, wisdom and foresight in handling social situations and conflicts; he was generous with his possessions and did not importune others for gifts; he was a good gardener, builder and worker, ready

123 to help others; he spoke softly and gently but when necessary could be
554 firm and tough; furthermore, he had a relatively wide experience of
159 the outside world. He had been a hunting leader before this task was transferred to the representative of the church council; he was also a leader in football. He came of a lineage with small land holdings in the Sivepe area, but his father had bought rights to additional holdings (with money Robert had earned) and his mother's brother had given him the use of other blocks Robert will eventually inherit.

159 When we came to the district he had just started his new house and was living, like many others in a small older one he had brought from Old Sivepe. He sold us his new house and stayed in the smaller one until we had gone. Though his house was thus among the most primitive in the village, it attracted more village visitors than any other; Robert and his rather attractive wife were popular. When the woman's club house was to be built, and when Lawrence had given the land, it was Robert to whom the women turned as a work leader. It was also Robert who decided that the work on the village houses and the mission hospital had more urgency (and that the clubhouse had better wait until it had ceased being a pawn in female factionism). Robert went to Port Moresby for a few months after a violent episode in his tumultuous marriage, hoping he would earn enough money to open a trade store.

He had about four years of working experience outside the village, as a houseboy, with the A. P. C. and on road work. Since then it was his ambition to start in business; in the early sixties, Jegase seems to have made some attempt at a trade store with disastrous results. He hoped to do better the next time, but a trade store opened up in an offshoot of Sasembata village just next to Sivepe, so that this is destined to remain a dream. Robert composed several songs over the year, and was constantly practising his drum. People usually waited for him before a dance practise could start, though he was not formally the dance leader. He also managed all the diplomatic manoeuvres necessitated by our presence. He did this with great honesty; I
[123 could always rely on all he said. Indeed, if it had not been for him
115] and his father, I wonder whether I could have come to grips with Sivepe at all. He also piloted us through the maze of the Orokaiva exchange system. He was the only person who never imposed on us, never asked for gifts. There was perhaps some calculation in this, as we were more disposed to respond to generosity than to the sharp trading engaged in by some others.

He had stood as a candidate for the council two years earlier but had been defeated, partly due to opposition from his affines. His first formal leadership role (apart from hunting and football) was as representative for Sivepe on the land adjudication committee. His father-in-law would have been better qualified, as he knew the land boundaries better, but he could not hold both committee posts simultaneously. It was interesting to see that in this situation, where the

not care to do with the mission quite so close. On this occasion the village looked more harmonious than I saw it at other times; the pagan half was fully able to join in.

The main difference in leadership--the premise of equality in Sivepa, the "big man" complex (see Sahlins, 1963, etc.) in Inonda--is probably attributable to an organisational difference between the mountain and coastal villages. In all my contacts with coastal people I have noticed the same posture of the "big man" among the persons of high rank. In the Sasembata district, however, it is not so easily tolerated if a man tries to stand above his fellows. There was a talented entrepreneur in Hamburata village, but this man was more interested in heading a cooperative than in purely private or family aggrandisement. There are, however, cooperatives on the coast also, and the case of Inonda may not be a typical one.

Section 4: Marginal Individuals

In this section the attempt at comparing the two villages broke down. This was because Inonda had as far as I know only one outstandingly marginal individual and shortly after I arrived they put him in jail. He had broken into a store with a hammer belonging to another villager; the other villager was apprehended by the police and successfully proved he had been framed.

In Sivepa, there were several marginal individuals some of whom became key personalities, I think, mainly because of our presence. Both our interpreters fell into that category. One of them was an unmarried mother and therefore already marginal. She was also extremely intelligent, knew English rather well, was the secretary of the woman's club. Her position was weakened because her father and mother were both dead; the father of her child came from her father's village; she therefore had been sent to her mother's village. Here she reached prominence in the affairs of the women's club and as our interpreter (she always translated holding or feeding the baby, but most reliably) but her position in her mother's brother's house was a delicate one and she had to leave her mother's father's house where she lived earlier. Although she was attractive, and only 22 years of age, her chances of marriage were thought extremely dim. She exploited to the full the chances of power provided by her association with us, especially in the earlier period when I understood no Orokaiva at all.

The other interpreter, also about 22, was Robert's younger brother. While Patricia, the women's club secretary, was extremely gregarious and adept at handling people, Leon, with a Standard 6 education, and the leading male expert in the English language and other school knowledge, was unusually shy. He was hardly ever seen talking spontaneously to any of the married men. He heartily disliked the interview situation and other duties that would draw him into the public. This tendency

was much less marked when I took him with me to Inonda. He was a bachelor who had a penchant for courting girls he was, for some reason, unable to marry. While we were in Sivepa, his girl friend, though belonging to the Seho clan was rather too closely related to him on her mother's side. Her father was Lawrence's elder brother and the Seho clan generally was strongly opposed to the union; they therefore treated the affair as incestuous. The mission had wanted to send Leon for training in hospital work. He had been doing some of this at Sasembata, and it would have suited him. His father opposed the idea, considering that his knowledge of English, etc. would be too useful to lose. When I came, his calculation proved right, for Leon's presence and employment drew me, for some months, into a position of much dependence on that family. Leon was the only young man who did not join in the drum dances, and who never sat with the other men. Perhaps, his bachelor status partly explains this, but another bachelor of the same age did not keep away to nearly the same extent.

One difference between Inonda and Sivepa was that in the former place there was only one family through which adaptive ideas and decisions were transmitted to the community, and in practise only one man, whereas in Sivepa, there was a variety of influences: the Seho leader, the two older, and in many ways totally different older Jegase leaders, and several younger people each with their own fund of experience which helped them to interprat a changing social situation. This difference results not only from a different organisational pattern (based respectively on the "big man" and the equality ideology) but also from the mere difference of size. It may be argued that some at least of the multitude of avenues through which the modern world was made accessible to Sivepa was due to post-eruption measures in the resettlement villages. Of the leaders discussed here, however, not a single one (except the two young interpreters who were scarcely leaders) was educated in the post-eruption period. They may have been influenced by their close association with the mission; if so, it is hard to say to what extent this association explains their present attitudes. One may safely say that the association with the mission at the present time reinforces the change-directed ideology of Sivepa leadership.

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
177 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
the kere) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practises,"
[535] even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanedage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

659 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[514] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
754 walk from Sivepe, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
[361] ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepe, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepe,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
881 have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
[841] in Sivepe. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
[783] girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (vis Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
782 in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
178 Sivepe informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
Inonda and Urarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepe for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepe knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepe people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.

CHAPTER XI: Epilogue--The Case of Hohorita

Section 1: Comparison Between Resettlement of Sivepa and Hohorita

My subject of study obliged me, both in Sivepa and Inonda, to inquire repeatedly into the state of affairs in 1951. My informants showed only limited interest in this line of inquiry. Robert, in Sivepa, even began to tease me by composing a song about what he considered to be an oddity of mine; every second line in this song (which he improvised as we walked along the road) began with the words "iji tiri pajetei" (the time when the volcano blew up)--I knew that from that time onwards I could never use this phrase without looking a little ridiculous. Such levity would have been unthinkable in Hohorita. For most Hohorita people, the time of the eruption marked the death of some, or many, of their closest relatives.

In the files of the Department of District Administration I saw the official estimate of indigenous casualties in the eruption (Table 1).[A] The toll of the dead from the Sangara tribe was evidently established by taking the total resident population of the Sangara group of villages (1964) and subtracting from that total, 170 known Sangara survivors. To these figures, 800 "Andemba dead" must be added as these were also Sangara. According to these figures, 94% of all Sangara died in the eruption. I have already pointed out that most of the survivors either came from villages lying at the boundary of the devastation area or happened to be away from home when the disaster occurred. They escaped to Cape Killerton, were placed in an evacuation camp at Oro Bay, shifted to Popondetta and in May, 1951, were able to settle at the Northern edge of Sangara territory, in a village called Irihambo where they found themselves under the close personal care of Bishop Hand who encouraged them to build a fine new church. The Bishop's purpose, as he explained to me, was to give this minute remnant of the powerful Sangara tribe a sense of community, some hope in life. It was the people who chose the site for the village; the Bishop hoped that later on, it could become a centre for cocoa production as climate and soil suits this crop very well. At that time, neither the people nor the government seemed aware that the land occupied by the Sangara was no longer in law their property.

The whole block North of Irihambo as well as East of it had been bought by the Crown around 1910, with the intention of encouraging sugar plantations there, but this plan was stopped by sugar interests in Australia. In the middle 1950's, a new plan arose to use this extremely fertile area for cocoa plantations. Most of it was settled in 1959 by Australian ex-servicemen, financed by a Credit Board (Howlett, 1965). As this plan was in its initial stages, it was discovered that the Sangara people were on the land and, in law, were

A [See Cat. 116, p. 205--Analyst]

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

431 But recruitment to this status is not restricted to specific categories; any two
572 people can become *namei*. These bonds provide some measure of control
574 over the flow of information, and a prudent man will establish them in places where such control is important. They serve to set up channels of information where they are lacking in the kinship-generated network. Unfortunately, neither my Orokaiva data nor any other Oceanic data provide much specific information on the channels which these relationships open up, although Burridge has referred to Tangu friendship as providing "a form of communication." On this basis, a friend's obligations would be to spread the renown of your friend, speak in his favour if others criticize him, advise him of anything that is being undertaken against him, and so forth. In practice, anthropologists have often overlooked such obligations towards their friends in the field.

572 (b) *Jao*. An important source of hereditary friendships, perhaps the most important of all, are *jao* relationships: friendships between unrelated women. A woman uses the term *jao* to address the wife of any *hovatu* (brother-in-
[591] law) when these two women are unrelated. A consequence of the rule of virilocal marriage is that the married women in a village tend to be unrelated
[582] to each other, having been drawn from a variety of villages in which various families had exchanged relations. When these women become friendly with each other, they call each other *jao*. Similar friendships are also common between women of adjacent villages even when their husbands are unrelated.

As such relationships are hereditary bilaterally, they may lead to a *namei* or *apa/eambo* relation between the sons of these women in the second generation, thus linking families between which no friendship existed previously. Moreover, if the daughters of the *jao* become separated from each other after marriage, they often continue their own *jao* relation, and visit
[431] each other's villages. They receive gifts on these visits, though on a more modest scale than the men do (as far as I could see, only vegetable produce was given). At times, they may stay for a few days before they return. It seems to be the Orokaiva wife's way of having a break from the domestic round.

● 123 Unfortunately, a male anthropologist cannot plumb the mysteries of this
572 relationship, as informants refuse to discuss it with any male, including their own husbands. A female anthropologist might find fascinating data; my only significant discovery was that women attach great weight to the institution, that it has secret aspects, and that it definitely binds males of the next generation. Married women certainly feel the lack of co-resident consanguines and the establishment of *jao* visits is clearly a substitute.

628 If two unrelated young women of district A are *jao* and marry in villages
572 B and C, this leads to inter-village links, not only between A and B, and A and C (links directly resulting from the affinal relationships), but also between B and C since the *jao* continue to visit each other, as do their sons. Hence, the *jao* institution is an important source of friendship linkages.